

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

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FOL RPT STATE 31064 ACTION USMISSION NATO 9 FEB.

QUOTE

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FOR USIS/RADDAY FROM TRATTNER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: PARTIAL TEXT FROM SECRETARY'S FEB 2 LOS ANGELES

FOLLOWING IS REQUESTED TEXT FROM SECRETARY'S FEBRUARY 2 LOS ANGELES Q & A SESSION.

QUOTE: MR. DAY: MR. SECRETARY, THERE'S A TREMENDOUS DEBATE GOING ON IN WASHINGTON ABOUT NATURE OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES 30 YEARS AFTER WAR, WITH ITALIAN COMMUNISTS-- NOW THE HEAD OF THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS. SOME OF THE FRENCH SAY THAT THEY ARE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT THAN THEY WERE 30 YEARS AGO IN THE HOT DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. THEY SAY THE DEMOCRATS ESSENTIALLY WILL COOPERATE WITH NATO. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF THIS? DO YOU THINK THE CHANGE IS FUNDA-  
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MENTAL OR NOT?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, THERE ARE TWO SEPARATE PROBLEMS. ONE IS THE ROLE OF THE PARTICIPATION OF THESE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE POLITICAL LIVES OF THEIR COUNTRY -- WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY A DECISION THAT THE COUNTRY HAS TO MAKE.

THE SECOND IS: WHAT IS THE VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION WITH RESPECT TO EITHER THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OR

THEIR ROLE IN GOVERNMENT -- EVEN IF WE CAN'T DO MUCH ABOUT OUR VIEWS.

NOW, WHETHER THE COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE CHANGED OR NOT IS SOMETHING THAT NO ONE CAN REALLY KNOW AT THIS MOMENT, BECAUSE AT THIS MOMENT PRUDENCE COINCIDES WITH THE POLICY THAT THEY'RE ADOPTING. IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO CLAIM THAT THEY HAVE CHANGED.

I PERSONALLY FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH AFTER ALL DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES FROM THE OTHER SOCIALIST PARTIES BECAUSE THEY INSISTED THAT A MINORITY HAD TO SEIZE POWER TO ADVANCE THE COURSE OF HISTORY -- THAT THOSE PARTIES HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS, OR HAVE USED THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN COMING TO POWER WHICH WILL PERMIT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS TO REVERSE THE COURSE OF HISTORY. BUT LEAVING THAT ISSUE ASIDE, I HAVE THE GRAVEST DOUBT WHETHER THE PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNISTS IN WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE NATURE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WHICH WE HAVE NOW. THESE PARTIES REFLECT A SET OF SOCIAL PRIORITIES WHICH MUST WEAKEN WESTERN DEFENSE. THEY REFLECT A SET OF ATTITUDES WHICH WILL MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATO COUNCIL, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE KINDS OF FRANK BRIEFINGS AND EXCHANGES THAT HAVE GROWN UP OVER THE YEARS. EVEN IF ONE MODERATE POWER GETS INTO OFFICE IN ONE OF THESE COUNTRIES, IT WILL SET A PRECEDENT FOR MANY OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES.

FINALLY, WE OUGHT TO REMEMBER THAT EVEN IF THEY ARE RELATIVELY INDEPENDENT OF MOSCOW -- WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE UNCLASSIFIED

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TRUE -- BUT EVEN IF THEY ARE, THE FOREIGN POLICY -- SAY OF YUGOSLAVIA -- WHILE ORIENTED TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE, IS CERTAINLY NOT AS CLOSE TO US, TO PUT IT MILDLY, IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. AND I SAY THIS ONLY BECAUSE WE ARE HERE IN PUBLIC. (LAUGHTER) -- AS THAT OF OUR NATO ALLIES. SO, ON THE WHOLE, IF COMMUNIST PARTIES PARTICIPATE IN A MAJOR WAY IN THE GOVERNMENTS OF WESTERN EUROPE, IT WILL, IN OUR VIEW, LEAD TO A SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN THE NATURE

OF ALLIED RELATIONSHIPS.

I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT IT IS NOT A DECISION THAT THE  
U.S. CAN MAKE. BUT IF WE ARE ASKED -- AS YOU ASK ME --  
THEN WE HAVE TO EXPRESS OUR VIEW. AND OUR VIEW IS THAT  
THIS WILL MAKE A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE  
WESTERN WORLD. END QUOTE INGERSOLL

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